A CAVEAT For the PROTESTANT CLERGY.

Or,

A TRUE ACCOUNT of the Sufferings of the ENGLISH CLERGY upon the Restitution of POPERY in the days of QUEEN MARY.

Flegillo Malvezzi in his *Tarquin.*

The calamity of *others* may be a Lesson to *you*: 'tis true, the good which is learned by what befalls *ones self*, is counterpoised by disasters: he knows much, to whom much hath befallen; But who can learn by *another Mans harm*; Say he be less *wise*, he is for certain more fortunate.

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The Publiſher *to the* Proteſtant Reader.

THis Letter was ſent to a *Perſon of Quality*, whoſe *Learning* and *Prudence* are ſuch, that, but to *know him*, and that *He recommended it to the Preſs*, were enough to *endear* it to the peruſal of any Man. But neither have I power to diſcover him that approved it;

nor doth the *Author* desire the World should know what *he thinks upon*, or *writes to his friends*: He is confident *this Age* is so *supinely negligent*, and *ignorant*, that all this will pass for a *Midsomer Dream*, or some *old foolish story*, in the *knowledge* whereof *this Generation* is not concerned. But yet it is most certain, that they who are acquainted with the proceedings of the *Papists* in *Austria*, *Bohemia*, or *France*, will think what *He writes* to be *probable*. They who examine things further, will find *all to be exactly true*: And they who *by comparing past*

and

and preſent times, take a proſpect of the *condition of our Affairs*, will think the Publication *to be neceſſary*: However, there is no hurt in being *cautilous*; and many events happen in the World that were as remote from the aprehenſion of them that ſuffer under them, as what the moſt *jealous heads* are perplexed at now in *England*: The Reading hereof will not take up *much* of that *time* which is now the *leaſt valued* thing in this Nation; and 'twill be no *evil effect*, if the conſideration hereof bring into any one's mind that Petition in the

Lords Prayer, *Lead us not into Temptation, but deliver us from evil*, with which I conclude.

Least

Honoured Sir,

LEast you should interpret my long *silence* to be a relinquishing of that *Friendship* which I have vowed unto *You*, I again renew that Correspondence which hath been so many Months discontinued: And because you expect from me somewhat more than *Ceremony* and *Complement*, I shall here represent unto you an Account of the *Condition* of the *Clergy* under that revolution in the Reign of Queen *Mary*, when *Popery* was re-established. It is well known how that *Queen* was promoted to the *Crown* by the *sole aid* and assistance of the *Protestants*, who flock'd unto her in *Suffolk*, and offered to hazard their Lives and Fortunes in her defence against the Lady *Jane*, who was proclaimed *Queen*, and abetted by the *Nobility*. 'Tis known that *She* promised

miſed unto the *Proteſtants*, that She would make no alteration in the *eſtabliſhed Religion*: and this *She* did ſo *Solemnly* avow, that none misdoubted *her Reality*. But after *She* was once advanced into the *Throne*, and had poſſeſſed her ſelf of the *Regal Power*, She violated all thoſe *Promiſes*, and being put in mind thereof, anſwered; *Foraſmuch as you being but Members deſire to rule your Head, you ſhall one day percieve that Members muſt obey their Head, and not look to bear rule over the ſame.* And to terrify others from importuning her with ſollicitations *of that nature*, a certain Gentleman named M. *Dob*, dwelling about *Windam* ſide, for the ſame cauſe, that is, for advertiſing her by humble requeſt of *her Promiſe*, was puniſhed by being ſet three ſeveral times *in the Pillory*. At firſt *She* made alteration in the *Church*, but aſſumed the Practice of *her Religion*, as ſhe allowed unto others the *uſe of theirs*: She declared no more by *Proclamation*, then ſeat being ſettled in the *Throne* ſhe could not hide that Religion which God and the World knew *She* had ever profeſs'd from her infancy: which ſhe was minded to obſerve and maintain *for her ſelf*, during her time: and would be glad the ſame were of all the

Acts & Monuments, p. 1279

Ibid. p. 1281.

ther Subjects quietly and charitably embraced. Yet *she* doth signify unto all her Majesties loving Subjects, that of her most gracious disposition and clemency, her Highness mindeth not to *compell* any her said Subjects *thereunto*, until such time as further order by *common consent*, may be taken therein. Forbidding nevertheless all her Subjects of all degrees, at their perils, to move Seditions, or stir unquietness in her People by interpreting the *Laws of the Realm*, after their Brains and Fancies, but quietly continue for the time, till (as before said) further order may be taken; and therefore willeth, and straightly chargeth and commandeth all her said good loving Subjects to live together in quiet sort and Christian charity, leaving those *new-found deviliſh terms* of *Papist* and *Heretick*, or such like, and applying their whole care, study, and travail to live in the fear of God, exercising their Conversations in such a charitable and godly doing, as their Lives may indeed expresse that great hunger and thirst of Gods Glory and Holy Word, which by rash talk and words many have pretended: and in so doing they shall best please God, and live without the danger of the Laws,

and

and maintain the Tranquility of the Realm.

After this, upon pretence of suppressing all *factious praying* and *Libels*, She prohibited all universally (except in the Universities) *to preach or teach any Scriptures, or any manner of points of Doctrine concerning Religion*, unless they have her Majesties special Licence for the same in *writing*.

This *Proclamation* being made, she proceeded to trouble such *Ministers* as did oppose the *Popish Doctrines* preached by Mr. *Bourne*: several were summoned before the *Council*, and cast into *Prison*, who had either *preached* or *talked* against the Queen's proceedings.

Divers Bishops suspended in the days of her Brother *Edward*, were restored, *viz.* Dr. *Gardiner* to *Winchester*, and *John Poynet* put out; Dr. *Bonner* to *London*, and *Nicholas Ridley* confined; *Joh. Day* to *Chichester*, and *J. Story* excluded; Dr. *Tarstal* to *Durham*; Dr. *Heath* to *Worcester*, *John Hooper* excluded, and committed to the *Fleet*; Dr. *Vesey* to *Exceter*, and *Miles Coverdale* cashier'd. And in the beginning of the *Parliament*, before any Laws of K. *Edward* VI. were repealed, Mr. *Harley* Bishop of *Hereford*, was excluded from the *House*

Dr. *Heylin* doth call him Bishop *Poinet*; I know not *why*; for he writes his own name *Poynett*.

House of Peers for being married; and of those which should adhere to the *Laws in being* (till they were repealed) some were marked, and others presently apprehended.

The *Universities* were severely visited, and many either expell'd or forc'd to retire: In our Colledge of S. *John's* in *Cambridge*, 24 places were vacuated; and no less miserable was the state of *Oxford*, by reason of the rigorous and strict dealing of the *Visitors*, that to set forward their *Papistical* proceedings, had no regard to the *ingenious* or *learned*. Acts & Monuments, *p.* 1343.

Our *Records* shew, that *Five Bishops*, and *twenty one Divines* were *put to death* in those days: But the particular usage of the *Clergy* is not so related in any *Chronicles* I have yet seen, as in a *Defence of the Married Clergy*, whose Author I know not; (my Book being imperfect) and because I think it may be somewhat *new* unto *you*, as it was to me, I designed the *sum* of it for the Subject of this *Letter*. It was Dedicated to K. *Philip*, and Q. *Mary*, and all the *Estates* in *Parliament*.

There were *twelve or sixteen thousand* Clergy-men turned out in those days, at one time, and reduced to great poverty; this was done and executed to the uttermost, and against all *Justice* upon

upon a number of them, even after the charge of the *Cure* ſerved, the *Tenths* and *Subſidy* paid, and they at the point of receiving that which was before laboured for, and deſerved, all was ſnatch'd out of their mouths by *preventions*. Some were *deprived*, and never *convict*, no never *call'd*. Some *call'd*, that were faſt lockt in Priſon, and yet nevertheleſs *deprived* immediately. Some *deprived* without the caſe of *Marriage after Orders*. Some induced to reſign upon promiſe of *Penſion*, and the promiſe never performed. Some ſo *deprived*, that they were ſpoiled of their wages, for which they had ſerved the laſt half year before, and not ten days before the receipt *ſequeſtred from it*. Some *prevented* from the half years receipt, after charges of *Tenths* and *Subſidy* paid; and yet not *deprived* till ſix weeks after. Nay, they ſtood chargeable in *Law* for their *firſt Fruits*, notwithſtanding their *deprivation*. Nor were they only *divorced* from their *Livings*: But the Orders of *Bonner* are extant whereby they were appointed to bring their *Wives* within a Fortnight, that *they* might likewiſe be *divorced from them*

N.B. In this relation I generally retain the *Language*, and even the *Orthography* oftentimes of my Author

Act & Monuments, *p.* 1334.

The

The *Queens* Articles ſent into *every Dioceſs* with Letters writ unto the ſeveral reſpective *Biſhops*, were of the *ſame import*, though in *ſome things* better *qualifyed*, than thoſe that were to put them in *execution* would have regard unto: But 'tis no unuſual thing in ſo *great revolutions* for the *Inſtruments* to exceed *their Commiſſion*, and to comply more with their *private inſtructions* or *intentions*, than the *publick Declarations* of *their Prince*. Whatſoever there is of *mitigation* in them, was not taken notice of, but ſuch *rigour* practiſed, as I relate. The *Articles* relating to this *ſubject* were,

That every Biſhop and his Officers, and all others having Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction, proceeding ſummarily, and with all celerity and ſpeed, may, and ſhall deprive, or declare deprived, and remove according to their learning and diſcretion, all ſuch perſons from their Benifices and Eccleſiaſtical Promotions, who contrary to the ſtate of their Order, and the laudible cuſtom of the Church, have married, and uſed Women as their Wives, or otherwiſe notably and ſlanderouſly diſordered or abuſed themſelves, Sequeſtring alſo, during the ſaid Proceſs, the Fruits and Profits of the ſaid Beneſices and Eccleſiaſtical promotions. Dr. *Heylin's* Hiſtory of the Reformation. *Ann. Reg. Mar.* 1. 1553 4

That

That the said Bishop, and other Persons aforesaid, do use more lenity and clemency with such as have married, whose Wives be dead, than with others whose Women *do yet remain alive. And likewise such Priests, as with the consent of their Wives or* Women, *openly in the presence of the Bishop, do profess to abstain, to be used more favourable. In which case,* after Penitence effectually done, *the Bishop according to his discretion and wisdom, may upon just consideration, receive and admit them again to their former administrations, so it be not in the same place, appointing them such a portion to live upon, to be paid out of their Benifice, whereof they be deprived, by the discretion of the said Bishop, or his Officer, as he shall think may be spared of the same Benifice.*

That every Bishop, and other Person aforesaid, do fore-see that they suffer not any Religious *Man, having* solemnly professed Chastity, *to continue with his* Woman *or Wife, but that all such persons after Deprivation of their Benefice, or Ecclesiastical Promotion, be also divorced from his said Woman, and due punishment otherwise taken for the Offence therein.*

In

In these *Articles* 'tis to be observed, that the *Queen* seems more inclined to call the *Wives* of the Married Clergy rather Women, than any *other name*: and matters were so ordered, that not only the *Regular Clergy*, which do vow Chastity, but the *Seculars*, (who promise at *their Ordination* only *castitatem colere & docere*; which was the *old Form*, and obligeth them *directly* no more to *refrain Marriage*, than to *teach others so to do*;) were divorced from their *Wives*, and deemed to have made a solemn profession of Chastity, according to those Verses,

Ordo, Sacer, vestis, professio Religionis
Quæ sit facta palam, faciunt solemnia vota.

The *Married Clergy* were in all places represented as *Lewd Fellows*; Nay, it came to that pass *immediately*, as that they were imputed such an *unworthy sort of Men*, that they ought not to be said *Ave* unto in *salutation*: not fit to come to their *Tables* or *Presence*, for disteining their *Holiness* and mystical vows of *Chastity*. Whereas in truth the *Secular Priests* of the *English Church* were never under any such *Vow*, nor did our *Pontifical* oblige them to *any such thing*: as Dr. *Redman* attested in the *Convocation-house*; professing *they were not bound by reason of any Vow, which (in as far as his Conscience was) the Priests in this Church of* England *do not make*. But all *Pleas* were rejected; it was in vain for

them to ſay *they* did nothing but what was warranted by the *Laws of the Land*, the *Convocation*, or *Scripture*, and *Fathers*: they were condemned for *breach of Vows*, as if they had been *Ordained* by *Romiſh Pontifical* and not that of *England*. The *Popiſh Clergy* told them, that upon the repealing of the *Laws in being*, the old *Laws* and *Canons* did *ipſo facto* take place, and oblige, though there was no *expreſs Statute* for it, and though the Queens *Commiſsion* was, that *they ſhould proceed according to Learning and Diſcretion in this weighty matter*: *and that they ſhould not put any other Canons and Conſtitutions of the Church in exerciſe, than ſuch as might ſtand with the Law of the Realm.* Yet for all this grave and gracious Advertiſement, divers of the Officials proceeded ſo far againſt *Learning*, *diſcretion*, and *Laws of the Realm* in moſt places, ſo that the poor Subjects and Oratours were far otherwiſe uſed than one would have imagined, *conſidering the truſt committed to them.* In truth it appears that *all Pleas* were invalid againſt the *Arbitrary* proceedings of *thoſe times*; and whatever was alledged out of the *Laws* and *Conſtitutions* of *England*, though never ſo old, and made in the times of *Popery*, (and *who is ſafe*, if ſuch a defence be *invalid:*) were defeated by this general aſſertion of Dr. *Martin*, and others, that no *Laws bind againſt the*

Church,

Church, but are *ipso jure & ipso facto* unlawful, void, and of none effect; That a *particular Church, a little Member of the whole, cannot derogate the universal Law of the Church.* They proceeded so far as to tell Men, that the *Acts* of K. *Edward* VI. did not take away the *penalty of the Canon Laws*: and interpreted that *Act* of Q. *Mary*, which *barely* repealed the *Statutes* of K. *Edward*, as it had *annulled the Marriages of Priests.* Nay, though there were a *Statute* in force then, made *tricesimo secundo* of *Henry* the Eighth, that no *Reservation* or *Prohibition* (*Gods Law except*) *shall trouble or impeach any Marriage, without the said Levitical Degrees: and that all such be lawful persons to contract, which be not prohibited by Gods Law to marry.* Yet did *they* proceed to annull the *Marriages*; and argued, that the *Priests could take no advantages of the Law, any longer than it continued:* and that the *ancient Laws of the Church were never extinguished, but only for a time shadowed, and brought asleep.* It was further argued by the *married Clergy* thus: *But to return again to Dr.* Martins *assertion, wherein he defineth, that the* Church-Canons be ready, watching straightways to fall into mens necks, upon repeal of such Statutes as kept them back: *which he doth so boldly, that belike the wise and well learned Commissaries, in diverse places, without further advisement, taketh upon the n*

wonderous ſleutly, to ſeparate, not only Regulars, *but* Seculars *too, againſt their wills and conſents. Upon which their doings, I would aſk them a queſtion:* How they *can gloſe the words of* K. Henries *Statute in the* XXVII. *year of his Reign, where it is plainly decreed in Law, that* all manner of Licenſes, Diſpenſations and Faculties obtained of the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, in matters not repugnant or contrary to the holy Scriptures, and Laws of God, ſhall ſtand in full Authority and ſtrength, without any revocation or repeal hereafter to be had of any ſuch Licence. *And I know diverſe married Prieſts, which have ſuch* Diſpenſations, *ſome corroborated by the* Kings Broad Seal, *and ſome by the ſaid* Arch-Biſhops Seal. *I would fain learn, how they underſtand theſe* weighty Laws *of the Realm. Belike, as they have proceeded in* Deprivations *of many Men*, never called, *or* cited, *never* convict, *nor* confeſſed; *and ſome called on one day, and flat deprived on the next day, not examining* whether he were Secular *or* Regular, married before Orders, *or* after, *without all manner of inquiſition: So belike they deſire to proceed in* Separations, *againſt both* God's Law, *and* their own. *And as for the* Laws of the Realm, *they make but* waſhway *of them, ſo little compting of them, that if a* Lord *ſhould ſee his* Tenants *in his* Court-Baron *ſo little regard the* by-Laws *of his Courts, he would think them*

them not unworthy, to loose their Copies.—— To this the only answer I can find, is. *The marriages of the Clergy be so great offences, that they cannot be forgiven by no manner of means*, no not by Christs Blood, *but only by a Separation. And Dr.* Martin *saith furthermore, that Bishops and Priests have so great deformities and skars yet remaining in their Bodies and Souls*, for their old Incests, (*as he calls them*) *that they cannot be mitigated by any gentle Medicine, Christian Clemency, no not purged yet, nor sufficiently punished*, with the deprivations of all their Livings, *but must look for much more yet*, Curses, Excommunications, Excoriations, Confiscations, open Pennance, *yea, the Devil, Hell, and all.* —— And Dr. *Martin* assures the *Clergy* that they were dealt with *very favourably* in being turned out of their *Ministrations*, and no further *Penalties* inflicted on them. 'Tis not to be denyed, but that *after they were turned out of their Livings*, the Church did mercifully open her lap to receive them into *new Benefices* and *Livings*, though they had lost *their old*, where they had done cost. But such was the *Churches merciful lap*, in receiving her own begotten Children to *ministration* again, that yet first they must speak their own shame in *Bills of their Pennance*, lying against themselves, most vilely & shamefully disabling their credit and estimation for

for ever. They muſt profeſs an *earneſt* and *hearty repentance of that foul ſin* of Unchaſtitie by *marrying*, relinquiſh their *Wives* for the future, and bear ſuch a part in *Proceſſion*, as *Jane Shore* doth in the *Puppet-Plays*, carrying *Tapers* in their hands: I could wiſh all our *Clergy* would reſort to *Bartholomew* Fair, and behold *that ſpectacle*, and judge of that *happy condition* into which *their ſupinity* will precipitate them. Some did undergo it in the days of Q. *Mary*: and, *Surely in ſome places the Churches mercy was ſo ſore extended, that whoſe Wives were two or three years paſt before departed, yet they could not be admitted again to miniſtration, but muſt do open Pennance, and go before the Croſs, without any redemption or intreaty that could be made; and the parties ſuch as by whom the Commiſſaries themſelves could alledge not one point of diſhoneſty, or evil opinion in all their converſation beſides forth. Shall Lay-men hereafter truſt well of the Churches Mercy, if they come within their claws, when the Clergy are thus dealt with? Of whom ſome diſſented in no Point at all from the Papiſts, but only in this fact, which the Law made them bold to adventure on.*—Thus, Sir, were thoſe *Clergy-men* ſerved, who before *that fatal change*, were in as good and lawful poſſeſſion of their *Wives* and *Livings*, as any Subject ever ſhall have of *any thing* hereafter. Nor is there any way for the *preſent Clergy*,

Clergy to avoid the *like inveniencies* ſhould *ſuch a Revolution* happen (from which the *greateſt ſecurity* wé have, as to *humane* and *Political* Affairs, is the great *Zeal* which our *Prince* continues to ſhew for the Church of *England*, and that *unqueſtionable unſhaken* conſtancy with which *His Maieſty* perſiſted to be a *Proteſtant* during his Exile) except it be confeſſed that *they are not in Orders*, and that the *Succeſsion* did ceaſe in the Election of *Matthew Parker* to be Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury*: this is a thing the *Papiſts* do commonly ſay: and Dr. *Champney* hath writ a *plauſible Book* to prove it: and if it be true, that *He* which makes *arbitrarily* Biſhops in *Greece*, of *Chalcedon*, *Corinth*, &c. hath ordained ſome for *England*, and *Ireland*; 'tis eaſie to judge *what courſes will be taken*, ſhould *Proteſtancy* looſe its *Legal force*, and *power*. Perhaps you will ſay that *ſuch a revolution* would endanger the *Layety* alſo, and bring the *Crown of his Majeſty* into Queſtion, whether it be *feudatory*, or *no*: 'tis true indeed, that the *Papiſts* do now *entitle* ſome of *their Clergy* to our *old Abbeys* and *Monaſteries*, and in *France* there is a *Nunnery* that layes claim to *Sion houſe*, and they are called the *Nuns of Sion*. 'Tis moſt true that the *Pope* doth reckon upon our *Kingdom* as held in *Fee* of the *Papacy*, and to this purpoſe did *Bellermine* produce unto K. *James* other Argu-

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dents than the *Donation of Constantine*. But I am resolved not to doubt the *integrity* or *prudence* of his Majesty, or our *Parliament*; 'tis not to be doubted but the *intellectuals* of *States-men* are as elivated as their *condition* is above others, and their *prospect* greater into Affairs: what passed in the days of Q. *Elizabeth*, and K. *James* is not effaced out of our knowledge; and 'tis only the intent of this *Letter* to acquaint you with *the condition of the Protestant Clergy* in the days of Queen *Mary*. Dr. *Heylin* hath not treated so fully of *this matter* as I have here: and I think it would be a *seasonable Work* to publish Dr. *Martin*'s Book about the proceedings against the *Clergy* then; and the *Defence of Priests Marriage*, (which is the Book I follow, and 'tis a *learned piece*, written by some *eminent* Man, but mine is defective in the *beginning*, and wants a *sheet* in the middle.) Nothing informs us so much as *History*, and to be *forewarned*, is in a manner to be *fore-armed*. I am

Your most devoted Servant,

T. P.

FINIS.